

# THE LANGUAGE OF THE MIDDLE ENGLISH BESTIARY

I PHONOLOGY

II INFLECTION

BY

**EINAR S:son HALLBECK,**

LIC. PHIL.

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BY PERMISSION

OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF LUND  
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED IN LECTURE  
ROOM VI, MAY 27TH, 1905, AT 10 O'CLK A. M.  
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.





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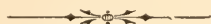
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## INTRODUCTION.

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The Middle English Bestiary is, as is well known, a free translation and expansion of the Latin Physiologus of Theobaldus. Of the English translator or re-editor, who wrote in an East Midland dialect, we know nothing. Richard Morris (in the preface to his edition of the Story of Genesis and Exodus) considers him to be the same person as the author of the Story of Genesis and Exodus, on account of the similarity of the grammatical and verbal forms and the orthographical peculiarities of the two poems. There are however, as Mätzner (in "Altenglische Sprachproben") has pointed out, some differences in the style that seem to show that the Best. and the Story of Gen. Exod. can hardly be written by the same author.

In a slight comparison of the two works, moreover, I have noticed the following phonological and, orthographical differences, some of which at least may be equally due to different authors as to different scribes.

1) O. E. hw appears in the Bestiary as w, in the Story of Genesis and Exodus as qu, quu: Best:

wo (O. E. hwa) 448, wos 764, worso 739, 754, wat 110, 166, wan 502, wanne 16, 496, wete 258, 292, wit 737, weðer 645; Gen. Exod: quo 359, 2821, 2822, 2823, quor 356, 714, quor-so 943, 3107, quuat 1310, quan, quane, quanne 16, 92, 418, 576, 708, 721, 930, queðer 3272, quit 2810 etc.

2) O. E. g (guttural voiced spirant) appears in the Best. as g, in Gen. and Exod. as g or w : Best: dages 744, dragen 548, lage 23, fagen 510, fugeles 403, mugen 425, bergen 14, 231, folgen 554, sorgeden 682; Gen. Exod: dages 3297, muwen 3316 (beside mugen 1818). Owen 120, 348, 1838 (beside ogen 884) foueles 570, 947, folwede 880, 3187, 1751, folgede 204, 1866, folwen 401, folgen 28, 3272 morwen 2305, 3162, morgen 247, 1161, sorwe 179, 268, sorwes 19, 716, 3742, sorge 68, 302, 368, borwen 886, 3044, borgen 1102, 1105.

3) In Gen. and Exod. h has very often initially been dropped or put in wrongly. Of this there are only two examples in the Best; Gen and Exod: auede = hauede 1251, aueð = haueð 2425, 2469, ad-den = hadden 239, 1480, 2451, 2545, 2546, ere = here 2855, 3773, algen = halgen 918, alt = halt 924, ail = hail 3066, 3183, for — olen = for — hol-len 1747, 1759; hic = ic 34, 2783, hinke = inke (A. Sinca) 432, his = is 2935, her = er 801, hor = or 958, herf = erf 2991, herðe = herde = erde 806 etc.; ire = hire 247; heten = eten 537.

4) *ea* is in Gen. Exod. sometimes written for *e*: leateð 3726, leate 1811, dead (O. E. *ded*) 2983, leaued 3839, ear 36, 47, 250, eares 2104, dead, deade (O. E. *deað*) 312, 392, 402, 421, 2573, 3120. Of this there are no examples in the Best.

5) O. E. *sc* is in the Best. represented by *s* (*ss*), in Gen. and Exod. by *s* (*ss*), *sch*, *sh*: Best *sal* 25, 115, *sinen* 19, *sep* 49, 607, *sunen* 293, *fis* 499, *fisses* 509 etc.; Gen. Exod: *sarp* 2989, 3577, *sal* 12, *fis* 162, *fisses* 2945, *schet* 475, *scheten* 474, *schilde* 2525 *schinen* 153, *schad*, *shad* 148, *shauen* 2120, *she* 1925, *shent* 754, *sheren* 2347, *sheweð* 1971, *shire* 2036 etc.

6) The letter *y* is unknown in the Best. In the Story of Gen. and Exodus it sometimes occurs beside *i*.

7) In the Story of Gen. Exod. *n* "seems added to the vowel-ending of all cases except the possessive, in order to rhyme with a verb in the infinitive, a passive participle, or an adverb terminating in — *en*, and is not always limited to nouns of the — *n* declension, but represents in A. S. an *a* or *e*": on *boken* 4, on *soðesagen* 14; *sunen* (nom.) 1656; of *luen* 635; *wið answeren* 2673; *bileuen* (acc.) 3154 "etc. See Morris, Preface to the Story of Gen. and Exodus p. XXI. Of this peculiarity there is no example in the Bestiary. In *hole* 769, for inst., no *n* is added in order to effect a better rhyme with *ðolen* 770.

The Middle English Bestiary is considered to

have been written in the first half of the thirteenth century. It has been printed at various times: by Morris in "An Old English Miscellany (edited for the Early English Text Society), from the Arundel MS. 292; by Mätzner, in his "Altenglische Sprachproben"; by Wright in (1) "Altdutsche Blätter, Vol II Leipzig, 1837: (2) in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* vol I p. 208. The present treatise is based upon the edition of Morris.

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# PHONOLOGY.

## I. Vowels.

### A. Vowels of accented syllables.

#### § 1. Angl. oral a.

Angl. oral a is, as a rule, represented by a. In open syllables a had probably been lengthened. There is however no rhyme that proves such a lengthening. But as o seems to have been lengthened in open syllables (cf. § 22 Note 1), there is no reason to doubt that this was the case also with a: faren 731, dages 744, dragen 548, drageð 9,311, lage 23, lages 170, naked 108, makeð 71, sage 600, fagen (Angl. \*fagen, see Kaluza, Hist. Gr. 206 d) 510, 531, hatien 396, hatieð 395, wadeð 357, havest 173, wakeð 47, make (O. E. gemaca) 697 beside meche (O. E. gemecca) 716, alle 7, 678 stalle 679, fallen 72, falleð 650, walke 635, bale 230.

Note. In novle (Angl. nafela) 561 Angl. a has become o, probably by influence of the following v. Cfr. Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gr. § 87, Anm. 4.

#### § 2. Angl. nasal a, o.

Angl. nasal a, o is represented by a: man 2, 88,

mankin 224, manhede 690, mani 544, manie 556, cam 687, wan 502, ðanne 24, bane 482, name 122, 446, same 447, wankel 566, sampnen 608, stant 1.

Note. In open syllables a had probably been lengthened; cf. § 1.

### § 3. A n g l. ā.

1. Angl. ā is generally represented by o [open ō]. As a rule, this ō does not rhyme with close ō < Angl. ō.

: bon 619, boðen 245, boðe 63, cloðed 150, gost 301, gon 201, holy 768, loð 430, lodlike 458, lore 101, 551, more 267, non 80, no 562, ogen 293, 370, ros 773, so 48, 68, 309, sore 552, ston 42, woning 797, two 307, ðo 31, ones (Angl. ānes) 697, wor (Angl. hwār) 638, ðore (Angl. ðār) 96, 103.

Note 1. Angl. ā + w is represented by ow, ou, ov, which probably betoken a diphthong: sowle 715, sowles 118, soule 206, knoweð 121, knov 165.

Note 2. Angl. aht and naht have in the Best. given resp. ogt 760, nogt 216, 217. Besides ogt, nogt however, there occurs, also out 703, 645, ovt 683, nout 730, 759. The pronunciation of ogt, nogt may not have differed very much from that of out, nout to judge from the fact that nogt 624 and out 683 both rhyme with the same word ðogt 625, 682. It is probable that the vowel of ogt, nogt was passing or

had passed into a diphthong, although it is not expressed by the spelling.

Note 3. *gast* 550, (beside *gost* 301 < *Angl. gast*) depends probably on *Angl. (shortened) gast*. That in the *Best.* *a* is short in *gast*, is proved by the rhyme *gast: stedefast* 549 and the spelling with *a*. The *Best.* does not elsewhere show any forms in *a* borrowed from the Northern dialect; see Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gr.* 135 Anm. 8.

Note 4. *Angl. a* seems to have been shortened on account of weak stress in the indefinite article, which in our text appears as *an*, *a* (*Angl. ān* > *an*) 15, 42.

Note 5. *u*, instead of *o*, in *nummore* (*O. E. na mara*) 290 depends probably on weak stress.

Note 6. Some words, which in *Angl.* contain an *e* (*ē*) show in the *Best.* forms in *o* [*ō*]. These forms have been explained as depending on *Angl.* forms in *\*ā* existing beside those in *ē*: *wore* (*Angl. \*ware, wēre*) 755, *broken* (*Angl. \*brācon, brecon*) 173, *oni* (*Angl. \*anig* formed from *enig* by influence of *an*) 492.

Note 7. *a* in *đar* 168, 255 (beside *đore* 96, 103 < *Angl. pār, pāra*) seems to be short and depend on influence from *O. N. pār*; efr. Björkman *Scand. Loan-words*.

2 *Angl. ā* (< *a*) before *ld* is represented by *o* [*ō*]: *holden* 46, *holdeð* 696, *beholdeð* 472, *old* 90, *kold* 619, *wold* 757, *wolden* 176, *folde* 48, 607, *told* 758.

Note 1. behalt 644, bewalt 645 depend on Angl. behält (< behaldeð), bewalt (< bewaldeð).

Note 2. helden infin. 171 and helde (we) 233 [beside regular holden (Angl. haldan) 46, holdeð 696] may possibly be due to analogy with a pret. held, helde. It is, however, more probable that helden 171, helde 233 have been borrowed from the Kentish dialect (cfr. Kentish helden). From a geographical point of view the assumption of Kentish influence is not impossible. The Best. seems to belong to the southern part of the East Midland district. — elded (from Angl. ældian) 177 is perhaps due to analogy with elde (Angl. eldu) 56, 125.

#### § 4. Angl. nasal a, o > a, ō.

Angl. nasal a, o > a, ō is in our text generally represented by o [open ō]: stonden 621, song 600, sond 504, sonde 546, strong 633, i-mong 601, amanges 977, long 275, longe 769, lond 366, fondeð 656.

Note. and 60 depends on Angl. and, the vowel of which was not lengthened on account of weak stress. Cfr. Kaluza, Hist. Gr. 207, Ann. 5. — standen 655 (beside regular stonden 621) seems to depend on the analogy of forms in a (< Angl. a) + voiceless stop, as stant 1. — a [a] in gangeð 199, 239 gangande 654 is probably due to Angl. shortening. Cfr. Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gr. § 90.

§ 5. Angl. æ (e) = W. S. æ (ea before h and after palatals) = W. T. a.

1. Angl. æ (e) is generally represented by a [a]: fader 21, blae 735, bar 39, barlie 262, fasteð 126, raven 408, warre 580, water 320, ðat 12, was 40, after 8, craft 131, stedefast 374, 549, raðe 419, warsipe 426, togaddr 606, waxeð 151, waxen 564, magt 541, magti 234, sal 25.

Note 1. Besides magt (Angl. mæht) 541, magti 234, there occurs also migt (Angl. miht) 323, migte 718, 33, 677. — Angl. neht (i-mutation of neaht) became by palatal-mutation niht, which in our text appears as nig 63, 195. Cf. Bülbring, *Altengl. Elementb.* 319.

Note 2. The following forms in e seem to correspond to Angl. forms in e (\*e) interchanging with those in æ: hervest (O. E. herfest, hærfest) 238, weðer (O. E. \*hweðer, hwæðer; cf. O. H. G. hweðar, O. S. hweðar) 645, festen (O. E. festan, fæstan O. N. festa) 533, seftes (Angl. \*sceft, scæft, W. S. sceaft) 456. — defte 37 depends probably on O. E. \*gedeft, formed from gedæft by analogy with gedeftan, which interchanged with the more frequent gedæftan: cf. Morsbach *Mittelengl Gr.* 96, 108 Anm. 2.

If dele dat. sg. 6 (instead of expected dale = Mod. E. dale), which, so far as I know, does not occur in any other M, E. text, is not due to mis-

writing, it may perhaps depend on an O. E. [Kent] \*del (beside dæl): cf. O. Fries. del.

2. Angl. æ (e) seems to have coalesced with a following palatal g to a diphthong ai (aig, ei): dai 43, deies gent. sg. 405, mai 129, maig 80,516, mainles 128, lai 42, faier 765, fairere 734, seid (O. E. gesegd, gesægd) 673, breid (O. E. brēgd, brægd) 672.

Note. daies (O. E. dagas) 127 is probably formed after the analogy of dai (O. E. dæg) 43.

#### § 6. Angl. ea (a) before guttural r + consonant.

Angl. ea (a) before guttural r + consonant is, as a rule, represented by a [a]: narwe 133, sarpe 421.

Note 1. Angl. heard (< heard) seems to have been shortened again to heard, which according to rule became harde 281 in the Best. As to the quantity of the vowel, conf. Orm's harrd. — But in Angl. earn (< earn) the vowel-length was probably kept unchanged and ēa, which was developed in the same way as ēa from W. T an, has in our text given e [e]: ern 88, ernes 53; conf. Kaluza, Hist. Gr. 209. Ann. 2.

Note 2. warmen 537, instead of wermen (Angl. werman < \*wearmian), seems to depend on analogy with the adjective warm (Angl. wearm), of which however there does not occur any instance in the Best. warmen 537 may also be explained from Angl. wærma (< \*warmian), which, especially in the North-

umbrian dialect, sometimes occurred beside werman (< \*wearmian). — In the same way charre 581, char 643 is to be explained from *Angl. (North.) cærra* (< \*karrian), which interchanged with the much more frequent *cerra* (< \*cearrian < *W. T. karrian.*). Cfr *Bülbring, Altengl. Elementb.* 176.

§ 7. *Angl. ea* (u — mutation of *W. T. a*).

*Angl. ea* (u — mutation of *W. T. a*) is in the *Best.* represented by *a* in: *care* 686.

*Note.* *Angl. ea* (u — mutation of *W. T. a*) appears as *e* in *heukes* 799. As far as I know, no form of this word in *e* occurs in any other *M. E.* text. *heukes* may perhaps therefore be looked upon as miswriting of *haukes*.

§ 8. *Angl. æ* (i — mutation of *ā*) = *W. T. ai*.

*Angl. æ* (i — mutation of *a*) is represented by *e* [open *e*]: *del* 345, *hete* 72, *leve* 226, *lereð* 101, *leren* 115, *se* 520, *redi* 153, 408, *lene* 128, *leneð* 634 *mene* 336, 549, *wete* 258.

*Note 1.* *ē* (< *Angl. æ*) had perhaps been shortened before consonant-groups: *fles* (*Angl. flāesc*) 136, 550, *nevre* 25, *evrile* 345, 372. Cf. *Morsb. Mittelengl. Gr.* 59.

*Note 2.* *-hede* in *guðhede* 55, *godcundhede* 592, *manhede* 690, has been explained from an *O. E.* \**hædu* (obl. cases \**hæde*) fem. beside *O. E. hād* masc.

corresponding to O. H. G.—heit masc. and fem. (i — stem). Cf. Kluge Grundr. I 874. e in -hede seems to have had a close pronunciation to judge from the fact that hede rhymes with words with close e as rede 54 (Angl. red), dede (Angl. ded) 593, gede (Angl. geode) 691. As a rule, open ē (< Angl. *ā*) does not elsewhere rhyme with close e. But as in respect of other sounds the rhymes are rather careless, the above mentioned rhymes cannot be considered as a sure proof that e in -hede had a close sound.

Note 3. haliweie 749 has been explained by Murray (Engl. Dict.) as depending on an O. E. \**hælewæg* (corresponding to M. H. G. *heilwag*, O. N. *heilvágr*) from O. E. *hæl* (O. H. G. *heil*, O. N. *heill*) health + *wæg* (O. H. G. *wâg*, O. N. *vágr*) wave, water. In forms as haliweie Murray assumes association with O. E. *hálīg* holy. In the Best O. E. *hālig* has however the form *holi* 768. haliweie 749, instead of expected holiweie, may therefore perhaps be a Northumbrian loan-word, the etymological connection of which with holi was not felt by those who spoke the dialect of the Best. It is however more probable that haliweie 749 is due to an O. E. *hælewæg*, in which the vowel of the first element had been shortened on account of the following syllables with medium stress; cf. Kluge, Grundr. I p. 891; Morslach, Mittelengl. Gram. § 53.



## § 9. A n g l. e = W. T. ā.

Angl. e = W. T. ā is represented by e [close e]: dede 97, 593, dred 412, grede like 321, leteð 135, rede 54, seð, sed 260, 244, wete 752, wete 73, were 2 pr. sg. pret 168, weren 95 ðer, ðere 30, 75.

Note. In neddre 144 ē had probably been shortened on account of the following consonant-group. Cf. Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gr.* § 59.

## § 10. A n g l. e = W. S. e (i.e., i after palatals).

1. Angl. e is generally represented by e [e]: den 13, deren 153, drepeð 483, 540, eried p. p. 402, eten 272, eft 727, feðres 72, fel 126, helpen 376, helle 342, letteð 417, nest 801, resteð 241, steppeð 10, steðe 404, selleð 494, telleð 257, wel 727, trendled (probably formed from O. E. trendel, a circle, cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*) 737; forgeten 574, gef 361, get 78, 111.

Note 1. In open syllables e had probably been lengthened; cf. § 22 Note 1.

Note 2. Angl. e (i) [W. S. ie, i] after palatals is against rule represented by i in: silden 50, sildeð 162. Before ld the vowel had probably been lengthened.

Note 3. nese 3,312 is probably due to an O. E. \* nese (besides nosu, nasu), which has been explained as depending on transition in the i-declension; cfr. M.

L. G., M. Du. nese: see Morsbach, *Mittelengl. Gr.* 120. Anm. 1.

2. Angl.  $e >$  M. E.  $e$ . seems to have coalesced with a following palatal  $g$  to a diphthong  $ei$ ,  $eig$ : weie 5, leigeð 359.

§ 11. Angl.  $eo$ ,  $e =$  W. T.  $e$ .

1. Angl.  $eo$ ,  $e$  is generally represented by  $e$ : sterre 766, herte 171, stert 9, bergen (Angl. bergan) 14, berges (Angl. berg) 605, werld 178, werped 325, 467, werk (Angl. were) 442, werkeð 449, 569, self 81, selven 644, fele (Angl. feola, W. S. fela), 385, heven 28, sevene 66.

Note. After  $w$  Angl.  $eo$  ( $e$ ,  $o$ ) = W. S.  $eo$  ( $o$ ,  $u$ ) before  $r$  + cons. is represented by  $u$  in: wurdi 447, wurðlic 233, wurðeð, wurdeð 482, 75, wurden 374. In this particular case the same sound-development seems to have taken place as in L. W. S. See Bülbing, *Altengl. Elementarb.* 268; cf. however above werk 442, werkeð 498, werpeð 325.

2. Angl.  $e (< *eo) =$  W. S.  $eo$  appears as  $i$  before palatalised  $ht$ : figted 158, figtande 159, brigt 71.

§ 12. Angl.  $\bar{e} =$  W. S.  $\bar{e} =$  1) W. T.  $\bar{e}$ ,

2)  $i$  — mutation of  $\bar{o}$ , 3) lengthening of final  $e$

is as a rule represented by  $e$  [close  $\bar{e}$ ]: mede 99, her 32, crede 113, sekeð 62, 132, weri 635, weneð

267, wet 320, quemeð 259, reche 714, fetsteppes 7, dreveð 496, demen 729, fedeð 740, he 2, we 237, ge 84.

Note. Before palatalised ht Angl. e appears as i in: higtēs, highest (formed from O. F. *hēht*, see Kaluza, *Hist. Gr.* 162, Ann. 1.) 169, 213.

§ 13. Angl. e preceded by palatal g,  
se = W. S. *ea* = W. T. *a*

is represented by e [e]: ger 616, sep 49, 607.

In these words e had close a pronunciation to judge from the rhyme ger 616: hēr 617.

§ 14. Angl. ē, *ā* = W. S. *ie*, *ī*, *ȳ*, length-  
thened on account of a  
following ld,

is represented by e [e] in: elde 56, 125, unwelde 57.

§ 15. Angl. ē (W. S. *ēa*; W. T. *au*) before  
palatal g, h,

is represented by e [open e]: heg 27, hege 685, egen 26, 60.

Note. steg 775 (instead of expected stag pt. of stigan) has been explained as depending on an Angl. \*stēh (W. S. *stēah*), the verb having passed into the second class of strong verbs; see Wackerzapp, *Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Nordenglischen* p. 25 ff. Björkman (*Scand. Loan-*

words p. 62), considers Scand. influence to have contributed to the transition. Björkman's opinion has been adopted by Luick, *Studien zur Engl. Lautgeschichte*. In my opinion it is the only possible one.

§ 16. Angl.  $\bar{e}$  = W. S.  $\bar{i}$  e,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{y}$  (i — mutation of  $\bar{e}$  a) = W. T. au,

is represented by e [e]: heren 51, ned 181, leven 169.

Note. In eilond 503 e seems to have coalesced with the following vocalized g to a diphthong.

§ 17. Angl.  $\bar{e}$  a = W. S.  $\bar{e}$  a = W. T. au is represented by e [open e]: grete 516, drem 665, rem 22, ded 40, den 11, heved 162, lesing 603.

§ 18. Angl.  $\bar{e}$  o,  $\bar{i}$  o [W. S.  $\bar{e}$  o (io)].

Angl.  $\bar{e}$  o,  $\bar{i}$  o is generally represented by e [e]: crepen 251, der 283, brest 140, wed 245, wel 737, flen 354, sen 529, tre 632, ðre 616, ben 49, fend 450.

Note 1. Beside denel 216 (Angl.  $\bar{d}$ eofel), deules 800, there occurs also dinel 33, which may be from an Angl. diwel, diwel, dinel, that however is found only in the North. dialect; cf. Bülbring, *Altengl. Elemb.* 110.

Note 1. O. E.  $eow > e\bar{o}w$  appears in the Best. as gu 673, 700; gu instead of  $\bar{g}ow$ .  $\bar{g}ou$ , which generally occurs in M. E. depends perhaps on weak stress.

Note 2. Also Angl.  $\bar{e}$  o,  $\bar{i}$  o = W. S. ie (i — mu-

tation of eo) is represented by e [e]: newe 76, 109, trewe 215, 722.

### § 19. A n g l. i.

1. Angl. i is generally represented by i: bidden 116, drinken 142, dim 554, fis 499, finnes 564, liveð 30, mist 102, nineð 93, 134, milce 196, swinkeð 235, sipes 568, siðen 86, wine 374.

Note 1. As for migt 323 (beside magt 541), nigȝt 63, 195, see § 5.

Note 2. merk 443, instead of mirk (cf. mirke 95, O. E. miree), may be due to the rhyme with werk 442.

Note 3. Angl. i has weakened into e in: senden (Angl. sindon) 79, 555, es (Angl. is) 247. Angl. is, however, has generally the form is 27, 28, 88, 110, 144 etc.; es 247, instead of is, may depend on the rhyme with gres 246.

2. Angl. i has coalesced with a following palatal g to i [i]: lieð (Angl. ligeð) 24, lið 17 (Angl. ligð).

### § 20. A n g l. ī.

1. Angl. ī is generally represented by i [i]: abit 710, bi 5, bit 269, driveð 13, 470, idel 437, lif 46, lie 797, licham 301, nið 225, pine 774, riche 604, sinen p. p. 19, wit 737, side 647, unride 505, 631, brought 431.

Note. ging 214 seems to depend on Angl. gīng (sometimes occurring beside iung, gung), which had

been formed by analogy with *gingra*, *gingesta*; see *Bülbring*, *Altengl. Elementb.* 307 c.; *gingeð* 327, *gingen* 347 are probably formed after *ging* 214.

2. *Angl.* *i* + *w.* is represented by *ew* [ēw] in: *speweð* 139.

§ 21. *Angl.* *īo*, *ēo* = *W. S.* *īe*, *ī*, *ȳ* (*i*-mutation of *eo*) < *W. T.* *i*

is represented by *i* in: *hirde* 48, 49.

§ 22. *Angl.* *o*.

1. *Angl.* *o* is generally represented by *o*: *folgen* 554, *forð* 130, *god* 377, *norð* 114, *sorgeðen* 682, *fox* 386, *bodi* 161, *broken* 173, *bodes* 172, *forloren* 85, *hole* 248, *hope* 802, *ðrote* 507, *ðolen* 770, *gode* 116.

Note 1. The rhyme *gode* 116: *fode* (*Angl.* *fōda*) 118 seems to indicate that *o* had been lengthened in open syllable. This single example, however, is no conclusive proof, especially as the rhymes are often careless.

Note 2. *ovese* 465 has been explained from an *O. E.* \* *ofes* (*W. T.* \* *obas(w)a*, *O. H. G.* *obaza*) beside *efes*.

2. *Angl.* *o* is represented by *u* in: *sulde* 149, and *wulde* 89. In these words *u*, instead of *o*, may depend on weak stress.

§ 23. A n g l. *ō*.

Angl. *ō* is represented by *o* [close *ō*]. As a rule, this *o* does not rhyme with open *ō* < Angl. *ā*: *boke* 54, 309, *blod* 483, *broðer* 659, *don* 297, *fode* 80, 118, *god* 405, *loken* 187, *mod* 337, *mone* 598, *gos* 392, *oðer* 15, *rof* 463, *rode* 597, *softe* 790, *sop* 456, *stod* 680, *corn* 246, *word* 51.

Note. The rhyme *ðogt* 682 (O. E. *pōht* > *poht*): *out* (O. E. *āht*) 683 seems to show that a back glide had developed or was developing between O. E. *ō* > *o* (*o* of the Best) and guttural *ht*.

§ 24. A n g l. *u*.

Angl. *u* is represented by *u*: *bieumeð* 91, *cumen* 363, *cunne* 68, *cul* (O. E. *euffl*) 741, *dure* 167, *dust* 9, *ful* 183, *furg* 400, *hunten* 2, *luuien* 170, *munen* 370, *sunne* 19, *ðurg* 3, 66, *wude* 245, *wunen* 522, *fugelles* 403.

§ 25. A n g l. *ū*.

Angl. *ū* is represented by *u* [*ū*]: *hus* 204, *hu* 35, *luken* 25, *luteð* 668, *muð* 111, *suð* 114, *abuten* 20, *sures* 281, *ure* 29, *nu* 89, *ut* 56, *ðu* 174; *grund* 74, *sund* 366.

§ 26. A n g l. *y*.

Angl. *y*. is represented by *i*: *drigten* 40, *filstnede* 44, *firmest* 213, *forbisne* 424, *ivel* 427, *listen* 89, *sti-*

reð 18, 520, sinne 298, wirm 120, 158, pit 761, mikel 319, sinful 97.

Note 1. Of the change between i and e (from O. E. *y*), often occurring in M. E., there is only one example in our text: *stereð* 404. It is, however, very possible that *stereð* 404 (beside *stireð* 18, 520, *stiren* 759, 783) is only due to miswriting.

Note 2. *list* (O. E. *lust*) 319, 544 seems to depend on analogy with *listen* (O. E. *lystan*) 89.

Note 3. *dillen* 383 is probably a derivative of O. E. \**dul*, *dol*, \**dyl*, cp. Morsbach, *Mengl. Gr.* p. 170.

### § 27. A n g l. *ȳ*.

Angl. *ȳ* is represented by i [i]: *fir* 149, 538, *hid* 144, *kiðen* 53, *pride* 335, *litel* 110, *minde* 350, 611, 788, *kinde* 15, 53.

## B. Vowels of syllables with medium or weak stress.

### § 28.

The vowels of the second element of nominal compounds, which in O. E., as is well known, had medium stress, show in the Best. the same sound-development as vowels with strong stress:

*mankin* 692, *stedefastnesse* 182, *eilond* 503, *wisedom* 426, *warsipe* 426, *kolsipe* = *golsipe* 333, *haliveie* (O. E. *hælwæg*) 749, *manhede* 690, *guðhede* 55,



heuenriche 28, 378, godspel 205, stedefast 549, 374, lefful 713.

### § 29.

The vowels of the second element of pronominal and adverbial compounds seem to have been developed in the same way as strong vowels: nowor 52, also (Angl. al-swa) 54, 308.

### § 30.

The vowels of the O. E. prefixes are generally kept unchanged in our text, for instance: bigripen 516, biswikeð 488, biholdeð 412, bitokneð 487, for-driuen 527, forgeten 574, togaddre 649, offrigt 762, uncuð 594.

Note. The prefix to- has weakened into te- in: tetoggeð 420, tetireð 420.

The O. E. prefix ge- has become i-. In past. parte., however, it is generally dropped: ilik 444, ilike 558, imong 601, iwis 450, inog 142; idigt p. p. 469, ikindled p. p. 17; faren p. p. 721, sen p. p. 237, sa-pen 736, bunden p. p. 560, herd p. p. 584, told p. p. 758, seid p. p. 673 etc.

The prefix ge- is kept unchanged in fuligewis 632.

### § 31.

The vowels of the O. E. heavy suffixes are retained in the Best.: swetteste 508, firmest 213, holi

(O. E. halig) 172, mildelike 190, rapelike 477, derne-like 428, billing 418, tokning 588.

### § 32.

The O. E. long inner vowels seem to have been shortened and weakened into e: *ðolede* (O. E. *polōde*) 690, *likede* (O. E. *licōde*) 31, *sorgeden* (O. E. *sorgōdon*) 682, *wuneden* (O. E. *wunōdon*) 617.

Note. The weakening seems, however, partly to be old English; cf. *Bülb. Altengl. Eb.* 429.

### § 33.

Short inner vowels have weakened into e or dropped: *heuenes* (O. E. *heofones*), *mildelike* (O. E. *mildelice*) 190, *kirke* (O. E. *cyrice*) 93, 167.

### § 34.

The O. E. short vowels of the final syllables have been weakened into e:

*name* (O. E. *nama*) 38, *finden* (O. E. *findan*) 12, *heued* (O. E. *hēafod*) 162, *naked* (O. E. *nacod*) 108, *moder* (O. E. *modor*) 795, *hue* (O. E. *lufu*) 105.

### § 35.

Words and syllables with fluctuating stress have been treated of under A.

## C. Scandinavian Loan-words.

### § 36.

The Scandinavian loan-words are rather nume-

rous in the Bestiary. The sounds of the Scand. words seem, as a rule, to have developed in the same way as the sounds of the English words. In many cases, of course, it is difficult to decide whether a word is of Scand. origin or only influenced from a corresponding Scandinavian word. As to the following account of this matter, cf. Björkman, Scand. Loan-words.

## § 37.

Scandn. *a* has been treated like Engl. *a*: takeð 87, rapelike (O. N. *hrapeliga*) 240, 477, calleð (O. N. *kalla*, O. E. *ceallian*) 651, calling 686, skaðe (O. N. *skaði*) harm 569.

Note 1. *ðar* 168, 255 may be from O. N. *þar*. O. E. *þār*, *pāra* has given *ðore* 96, 103.

## § 38.

Scand. *a* before nasal consonants seems to have been treated like O. E. nasal *a*: frame (O. N. *frame*) 39, onde (O. Scand. *ande*) 407, 507.

Note. frame (O. E. *freme*) has however also been explained as depending on influence from *framien* (O. E. *framian*). See Björkman, Scand. Loan-words p. 239.

## § 39.

Scand. *ā*. There is no example of a Scand. *a* with retained vowel-length. As all the other Scand. sounds are treated like the corresponding O. E., it is

probable that in the dialect of the Best. Scand.  $\bar{a}$ , as O. E.  $\bar{a}$ , was represented by  $\bar{o}$ . lateð 358 ( $<$  O. N.  $\bar{l}ata$ ) is therefore to be explained as depending on shortening of Scand.  $\bar{a}$ ; see Björkman, Scand. Loan-words p. 91. —

### § 40.

Scand.  $\bar{æ}$  (i-mutation of  $\bar{a}$ ) appears in the Best. as  $e$  [ $e$ ] : feg (O. W. Scand.  $fægja$ ) 210.

### § 41.

Scand.  $e$  ( $>$  O. W. Scand.  $\bar{e}$ , O. East Scand.  $\bar{æ}$ ) has given  $e$ : skemþing amusement 434, (formed from O. W. Scand.  $skemta$ , O. Swed.  $skæmta$ ), gres (O. East. Scand.  $græs$ ) 246. Cf.  $\bar{ðeðan}$  (O. Swed.  $\bar{pæpan}$ ) 470, 727, rennen (O. W. Scand.  $renna$ ) 340, renneð 240, 477, rennande 667.

### § 42.

Urn.  $e >$  O. Scand.  $ia$  ( $iæ$ ),  $io$  ( $io$ ) seem to have developed in the same way as Scand.  $e$ : derue (O. W. Scand.  $djarfr$ , O. Swed.  $diärver$ ) 284, derflike (O. Scand.  $diarfliga$ ) 412, ket (O. W. Scand.  $kiot$ , O. Swed.  $kiot$ ) 438.

### § 43.

Scand.  $i$  is represented by  $i$ : til (O. Scand.  $til$ ) 65, illing (formed from O. W. Scand.  $illr$ ) 419.

## § 44.

Scand.  $\bar{i}$  appears as  $i$  in : swideð 70 (O. W. Scand. sviða, O. Swed. swīpa), fiked (O. W. Scand. fikiask) 656.

## § 45.

Scand.  $o$  is represented by  $o:$  ok (O. Scand. ok <  $\bar{o}k$  < auk) 208, 264.

## § 46.

Scand.  $\bar{o}$  seems to have been kept unchanged in : bone ( (O. W. Scand. bōn) 116 prayer.

Note. Scand.  $\bar{o}$  seems to have been shortened in ðog 34 (O. Scand. þō, þōh < \* þauh).

## § 47.

Scand.  $u$ . tunder 535 may be from O. W. Scand. tundr, O. Dan. tunder. It is, however, also very possible that tunder depends on an O. E. form without  $i$ -mutation. See Björkman, Scand. Loan-words p. 256.

## § 48.

Scandn.  $\bar{y}$  seems to have been treated like O. E.  $\bar{y}$ , which in the Best. appears as  $i:$  mire (O. Swed. mýra) 234, skies (O. W. Scand. skȳ, O. Swed. skȳ).

## § 49.

O. Scand.  $ai$  < Teut  $ai$  is kept unchanged :  $ai$

62, 194 (W. Scand. æi, ei, Goth. aiw) always, heil 518 O. West. Scand. heil), reisen, reisede (O. W. Scand. reisa) 676, 692.

### § 50.

O. Scand. au is represented by o in : trostlike (O. W. Scand. traustlika) 634.

## D. Continental Germanic Loan-words.

### § 51.

In the Best. there occur a few words which have not anything to correspond to them in O. E., but are very well accounted for by assuming that they are borrowed from O. L. G. or O. Du.. The question of Low Germ. Loan-words in English has been very slightly investigated. Cfr. however Huser, *Festländische Einflüsse im Mittelengl.* (in *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik* Heft. 12 p. 177, Morsb. *Anglia* Beiblatt 1897 p. 331, Kluge in *Pauls Grundriss* p. 942 f., Ekwall, *Shakspeare's Vocabulary* p. 92 f.

snute 669 snout : M. L. G. snüte. In the Scand. dialects the word only occurs in O. Swed. (snuta), where, however, it may be borrowed from L. G.

taunede 767 showed; cp. M. L. G. tonen., M. Du. toonen, M. H. G. zounen.

haleð draws 394 has not anything to correspond

to it in O. E.; comp. however O. Fries. *halia*, O. N. *hala*.

*dareð* 406, 486, lies still, *daren* 761, which is not found in O. E., is perhaps identical with the stem of M. Du. and L. G. *bedaren* to appease, abate, calm. See Murray, Dict.

*smelleð* 751, *smel* 3,747 have not anything to correspond to them in O. E., but their frequent occurrence in M. E. seems to show that they are of native origin.; comp. however L. G. *smelen*, Du. *smeulen*.

## E. Romanic Loan-words.

### § 52.

The number of words of Romanic origin is very inconsiderable. If we except a few words that are found already in O. E., only the following Romanic Loan-words occur: *venim* 139, 323, *povre* 184, *fin* 780, *cave* 251, 268, *spuse* 717, *grace* 119, *leun* 17, 23, 29, *turtre* 694, *cete* 513, *cethegrande* 499.

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## CONSONANTS.

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### L a b i a l s.

#### § 53. A n g l. p

is kept unchanged: prest 209, pride 335, puteð 669, sipes 527, 568, sopen 736, slepen 24, sarpe 421, werpeð 325, 467, helpen 376, up 64.

Note. Inorganic p, inserted between m and n, occurs in: sampnen (O. E. samnian) 608.

#### § 54. A n g l. b

is kept unchanged: beren 263, bergen 14, berges 605, bidden 116, biðenken 94, blac 735, boc 451, blod 619, brennen 536, broðer 659, brigt 71, forbedeð 298.

Note. u(v) for b in hauen (O. E. habban) 196, hauen (O. E. habbað) 237 is due to the analogy of forms with u, such as haueð (O. E. hafeð) 15, 636. Cf. Kal. Hist. Gr. § 255.

#### § 55. A n g l. f (voiceless spirant)

is kept unchanged: fader 44, fallen 72, faren 731, fedeð 740, finden 12, fles 136, fel 135, freteð 497, ful 183, half 586, rof 465, lif 46.



## § 56. A n g l. f (voiced spirant)

is kept unchanged. It is written u: heuene 67, seuene 66, heued 162, heruest 238, gineð 377, haueð 15, lueð 30, 518, rauē 408, wulues 591, steuene 684, lues 287, cuensterre 766, deuē 216, lue 105, lues 287, heuekes 799, driueð 13, 470.

## § 57. A n g l. w.

1) A n g l. w is generally kept unchanged. It is for the most part written w, though u is very common after consonants: waxeð 151, water 320, wenden 6, werk 442, werld 178, werpeð 325, witen 33, wol-den 176, wrengðe 85, writen 695, wrong 798, swet 320, swimmeð 355, sweleð 315, quenchet 344, quike 341, qwemeð 259, wat 110, wo 448, wit 737, wete 258, wanne 16, 496, widue (A n g l. widwe, widuwe) 706, sadue (A n g l. seadu, pl. sead(w)a) 648.

2) A n g l. w has probably coalesced with a preceding vowel to form a diphthong: sowle 715, sowles 118, soule 206, 231, 603, reufulike 652, rewen 552, knoweð 121, knov 165.

3) A n g l. w is dropped between initial s and a following ō in: so (O. E. swā) 283, al so 762.

**Dentals.**

## § 58. A n g l. t.

1) A n g l. t is generally kept unchanged: telleð 257, tre 632, trewe 215, tun 391, twifold 424, figted

158 hatieð 395, atter 329, hert 307, brigt 71, brest 140, bihalt 644, biwalt 645.

2) Angl. *t* has been dropped before *s* in : best (Angl. betst), 802, milee (Angl. milts) 196, 802.

3) The *t* of the ending of the 2nd person sing. is dropped in : higtēs 169, 213, forbreðes 174, forwurðes 175, forgelues 175.

4) *t* is inserted between *s* and *n* in : listen (Angl. hlysnan) 89, listneð 551.

### § 59. Angl. *d*.

Angl. *d* is, as a rule, kept unchanged: dai 43, demen 729, dragen 548, drinken 138, del 345, ded 40, driveð 13, lides 26, fode 80, stede 404, bidden 116, neddre 144, grund 74, god 405, lond 366.

Note 1. *d* for *t* in geld 440 (beside gelt 418 O. E. gelt < geldeþ) is probably due to the analogy of forms with regular *d*.

Note 2. ð seems to be miswriting of *d* in mið 445 (Angl. mid); cf. mid 740, mide 73, ðer-mide 615.

### § 60. Angl. *p* (voiced and voiceless spirant).

1) Angl. *p* is generally unchanged. It is spelt with ð: ðar 255, ðenkeð 449, ðewes 183, ðing 317, ðogt 625, ðu 158, ðurg 3, 66, boðen 245, 332, siðen 86, feðres 72, erðe 32, muð 111, drageð 9.

Note. The ending -es, instead of -eð, in bilimpes 362 may possibly be due to Northumbrian influence.

2) Angl. *p* is represented by *t*:

a) initially in pronouns and adverbs after words ending in *d*, *t*, *s*: and *tis* 200, and *ter* 431, and *tus* 92, 117, 143, 689, and *tanne* 306, *bid tu* 194, *at tin* 212, *đat tis* 399, *đat te* 199, *đat tu* 187, 196, 201, 501, *wat tu* 166, *is tat* 27, 110, *is te* 29, 106, 122, 523, *is tis* 88, *us tus* 347, 444.

Exceptions: *mod đu* 191, *fet đe* 301.

b) after the voiceless spirant *h* in: *sigte* (Angl. *gesihð*) 107, 721.

Note. In O. E. there occurs however once the form *gesiht*: cf. Sweet, Dict.

c) in the 3rd pers. sing. present tense in: *forsaket* 96, *quenchet* 344, *seit* 703. In these words *t*, instead of *ð*, may be due to the analogy with the numerous forms of the 3rd pers. sing. that end in *t*, arisen by the O. E. assimilation *d*, *t* + *p* > *t*, for instance *behalt* 644, *stant* 1, *abit* 710, *flet* 502, *sit* 701, *smit* 507 etc.

3) Angl. *p* is represented by *d* in: *birdene* (Angl. *byrðen*) 375, *ded* (Angl. *dēap*) 528. — *ded* 528, instead of *deð*, may be due to the analogy of the related adjective *ded* (Angl. *dēad*) 40.

Note. *d*, instead of *ð*, is probably due to mis-writing in the following words, which have *by*-forms in *d*: *wurdeð* 75 (beside *wurðeð* 482, *wurðen* 338, *wurð* 689), *dere* 288 (beside *ðer* 30, 75, *ðere* 480,

đerbi 634 etc.) de 219, 311 (beside đe 17, 139, 209, 210 etc.), dridde 43, wurdı 186, lodlike 458.

### § 61. A n g l. s

is kept unchanged : sageð 640, se 520, sekeð 62 sinken 538, slepen 24, listen 89, iwı 450, wise 468.

Note. c is written for s in milce (Angl. milts) 196, 802.

## Gutturals and palatals.

### § 62. A n g l. g u t t u r a l c [k].

Angl. guttural c is unchanged. Initially, it is spelt with c or k before guttural vowels, with k before palatal vowels and n, with c before l and r. Angl. cw is written qw, qu. Medially, it is written k (geminated ck), finally c or k. ks is written x as in O. E.

: can 94, corn 246, cumen 363, cam 687, uncuð 512, kam 43, unkuð 112, kinde 15, 53, kiðen 53, king 687, knoweð 121, knov 165, cloðed 150, clepeð 310, craft 131, crepen 251, qwemeð 259, quenchet 344, quike 341, maken 154, luken 25, drinken 138, naked 108, necke 393, blac 735, boc 451, werk 442, waxeð 151, fox 386.

### § 63. A n g l. p a l a t a l c [k̟, (tʃ)].

1. Angl. palatal c is initially, and generally also medially, represented by ch [tʃ] : char 643, chaueles

513, erðelíne 402, ríche 28, 732, eche 176, 177, reche 714, meeche (O. E. *gemecca*) 716, quenchet 344, fecheð 242, erðlíche 299, bríche 379, 728, wíches 542.

2. Angl. palatal *e* [k] seems to have been kept unchanged finally and in the ending like : *ic* 54, 261, *wile* 5, *swile* 336, *ile* 344, *eurile* 345, 372, *licham* 301, *barlie* 262, 291, *lie* 797, *warðlie* 233, *ilik* 444, 558, *mildelike* 190, *luuelike* 381, *gredilike* 321, *dernelike* 428, *lodlike* 458.

Exception: *erðlíche* 299.

Note. *e* is dropped in: *i* 53.

3. Angl. *é* is kept unchanged in *sekeð* 62, 132 (O. E. *sēceð*), *werkeð* 498, 569 (O. E. *wyrceð*). *é*, instead of *ě* [tš], in O. E. *seceð*, *wyrceð* has been explained as depending on analogy with the syn-copized forms *sečð*, *wyrčð*, where *é* did not become *ě* [tš], because it was immediately followed by a consonant.

#### § 64. Angl. *sé*.

1. Angl. *sé* is as a rule initially and finally represented by *s* [š] : *sal* 25, 115, 160, *sinen* 19, *sulen* 280, *sulde* 149, *sep* 49, 607, *silden* 50, *sildeð* 162, *seld* 161, *sunen* 293, 371, *suneð* 264, 291, *sakeð* 264, *sarpe* 421, *warsipe* 426, *sending* 441, *seftes* 456, *sepande* 456, *sop* 456, *sipes* 527, 568, *sadue* 648, *fis* 499, *fles* 136, 550.

Note. Before consonants Angl. *sé* was represen-

ted by *sc* [gut. *sc?*] to judge from the only occurring example *scrifte* 208.

2. Angl. *sé* is medially represented by *ss* [š] : *fisses* 509, *wissing* (Angl. *wiscing*) 334.

### § 65. Angl. *g* (guttural stop)

is kept unchanged : *gaddreð* 244, *gangen* 129, *gapeð* 506, *gast* 550, *god* 377, *gos* 392, *grete* 516, *grund* 74, 365, *gredilike* 321, *singeð* 570, *strong* 79, *song* 600, *ðing* 317, *king* 687, *long* 275.

### § 66. Angl. *g* (palatal stop).

There is no example of the regular development of this sound. — *seie* 680 (O. E. *secge*) is formed after the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg; cf. *seit* (O. E. *sægð*) 703.

For the Angl. initial palatal stop *g* > *j* see § 65.

### § 67. Angl. *g* [j] (palatal voiced spirant)].

1. Angl. initial *g* [j] < [1) Teutonic *g*, 2) Teutonic *j*] is unchanged : *geld*, *gelt* 440, 418, *ge-men* 348; *ger* 616, *ge* 89, *gef* 361, 502, *get* 78, 111, *gingen* 347, *ging* 214, *guðhede* 55.

Note 1. *g* [j] has coalesced with the following *i* in *if* 51.

Note 2. For the prefix *ge* see § 30.

2. Angl. *g* [j] after *r* is represented by *i* : *mirie* 570.

3. g [j] coalesced with a preceding palatal vowel already in O. E.; see Kaluza, *Hist. Gr.* 266, f. Angl. æ, e + g [j] appears in the *Best.* as ai, aig, ei, eig; Angl. i + g [j] appear as i [ɪ]: dai 42, deies 405, mai 129, maig 80, 516, mainles 128, lai 42, breid 672, leigeð 359, weie 5, lið 17, lieð 24, sti 198, we-rig 635.

§ 68. Angl. g (guttural voiced spirant)

is unchanged at least after guttural vowels and l, r: dages 744, dragen 548, lage 23, lages 170, fagen 510, 531, fugeles 403, mugen 425, ogen 293, 370, 786, bergen 14, 231, folgen 554, sorgeden 682.

Note 1. In *forbroiden* 124 (O. E. *forbrogden*) g has been changed for i, probably after the analogy of forms that in O. E. contained g [j].

Note 2. After palatal vowels g has perhaps passed into the palatal voiced spirant [j]; cf. Kaluza, *Hist. Gr.* § 270.: egen 26, 60, flegeð 64, 702 legeð 451, 704.

Note 3. g is dropped in *fules* 410 (beside *fugeles* 403).

§ 69. Angl. h (guttural voiceless spirant).

1. Angl. h (guttural voiceless spirant) is unchanged at least after guttural vowels and r. It is written g: nogt 147, 216, 404, 451, magt 541, magti 234, ðogt 625, 682, ðogte 455, inog 142, ðurg 3, 66.

Note. *h* is dropped in: *ovt*, *out* (Angl. *āht*) 683, 645, *nout*, *nowt* (Angl. *nāht*) 730, 759, 262.

2. Angl. *h* (guttural voiceless spirant) in the composition *ht* had probably been palatalised after palatal vowels: *figteð* 158, *figtande* 159.

3. Final Angl. *h* (guttural voiceless spirant) has probably become *g* [j] after M. E. palatal vowels: *heg* 27, *steg* 775.

§ 70. Angl. *h* (palatal voiceless spirant)

seems to have been kept unchanged. It is written *g*: *drigten* 40, *nigt* 63, 195, *rigten* 117, *migt* 323, *migte* 33, *migten* 683, *sigte* 107.

§ 71. Angl. *h* (initial aspirate).

1) Angl. *h* (initial aspirate) is kept unchanged before vowels: *hardilike* 239, *harmedes* 389, *hatieð* 395, *heg* 27, *helpen* 376, *hert* 307, *hitt* 471, *hopeð* 655, *hundred* 369; *hire* 421, 271, 252, 388, 395 etc. *hem* 417, *he* 4, 10, 15, 22.

Note. *h* is dropped in the weakly stressed *ire* 247; cf. however above *hire* 421, 271, 252, 388, 395 etc.

2. Angl. *h* (initial aspirate) is dropped before consonants: *lude* (O. E. *hlude*) 490, 746, *louerd* (O. E. *hlaford*) 29, *listen* (O. E. *hlysnan*) 89, *rem* (O. E. *hrem*) 22, 664, *rof* (O. E. *hröf*) 465, *necke* (O. E. *hnecca*)



393, wat (O. E. hwæt) 110, 166, wo (O. E. hwa) 448, wanne (O. E. hwanne) 16, 496.

Note. wu 31, 55 (O. E. hu) may be formed by analogy after wo, wat.

### Liquids.

#### § 72. A n g l. l

is kept unchanged: lagelike 695, ledeð 443, le-geð 451, leren 115, luteð 668, fallen 72, werld 178, al 58, sal 25.

Note. l has been dropped in the unstressed as 795 (Angl. al-swa).

#### § 73. A n g l. r

is kept unchanged: riche 732, rigt 68, resteð 241, raðe 419, rauen 408, remeð 652, broðer 659, hereð 61, bar 39.

### Nasals.

#### § 74. A n g l. m

1. Angl. m is generally kept unchanged: makeð 71, man 88, migte 33, nimeð 741, name 38, cumeð 56, kam 43.

2. Angl. m is doubled in nummore (O. E. nā mārā) 240, 579.

3. Angl. *m* is dropped in inflectional endings :  
*sarpe* (O. E. *scearpum*) 421, *rigte* dat. sg. masc. 86, 550.

### § 75. Angl. *n*.

1. Angl. *n* is generally kept unchanged : *naked* 108, *nest* 801, *nigt* 63, *brinneð* 316, *finden* 12, *lond* 366, *man* 88, *slepen* 24, *sinen* 19, *rauen* 408, *on erðe* 32.

Note. *n* has been joined to the following word in : *a neilond* 503.

2. Angl. *n* is doubled in *unneðes* (O. E. *uncaðe*) 134.

3. Angl. *n* is dropped:

a) before consonants very often finally in the indefinite article and pronouns : *a ston* 42, 82, 132, *a god stund* 405, *a meiden* 558, *a ðirl* 132, *a wunder* 398, *no man* 562 (beside *non fode* 80, *non migt* 323, *non wigt* 324), *ði brest* 210.

Note 1. *n* is occasionally kept unchanged before *h* and *w* : *tin herte* 212, *an hundred* 369, *an wirm* 120.

Note 2. In the preposition *on* *n* is also very often dropped before consonants : *o boke* 54, *o felde* 400, *o wolde* 606, *o werld* 178, *o his* 438, *o twinne* 296, *o domesdei* 305 (beside *on hille* 1, *on him* 159, *on sinnes* 221, *on boke* 309, *on stalle* 489 etc.).

b) in the inflectional endings of the nouns and pronouns : *erðe* (O. E. *eorðan*) 32, *mone* (O. E. *mo-*

nan) 598, ðe sinfulla (O. E. synfullan) 222, ðe little (O. E. lytlan) 547, oðer (O. E. oðerne) 372.

### § 76. A n g l. ʒ

is kept unchanged : sinken 538, ðenkeð 449, gangen 129, king 687, song 600.

## Scandinavian Loan-words.

### § 77.

The consonants of the Scandinavian loan-words are, as a rule, developed like the corresponding O. E. sounds. The exceptions are very few. I think the following remarks on this matter may suffice :

1. Scand. ð appears as d in swideð (O. W. Scand. swiða) 70.

2. Scand. k (O. E. palatal and guttural k) is kept unchanged : kirke (Scand. kirkja) 93, 167, mikel (Scand. mikil) 235, 382, ket (O. W. Scand. kiot) 438, calleð (Scand. kalla) 651, takeð (Scand. taka) 87, 98, fikeð (O. W. Scand. fikiask) 656.

3. Scand. sk (O. E. palatal sc) is unchanged : skies (O. Scand. ský) 66, un-skil (from O. Scand. skil) 433, skemting (formed from O. W. Scand. skemta, O. Swed. skæmta) 434, scaðe (O. W. Scand. skaði, O. Swed. skapi) 569.

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# INFLECTION.

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## S u b s t a n t i v e s.

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### Strong declension.

§ 78. Masculines (original a-, ja-, wa, i-, u-stems).

a) Terminations of the singular.

Nouns that in O. E. had no termination in the nom. acc. are also in the Best. in these cases without any ending.

Nouns that in O. E. in the nom. acc. ended in e, u take in the Best. e.

The gen. ends in es.

The dat. ends in e or is without any termination.

b) The plural ends in all cases in es.

Examples: Sing. nom. acc.: ston 132, fis 499, dai 43, hert 307, 346, deu 11, fligt 59, muð 111; hirde 48, wude 326, come 799.

Gen. godes 204, drigtines 330, deies 405, develes 551, ernes 53.

Note. In sees (grund) 523 the e of the gent. ending had been dropped already in O. E.; cf. O. E. sæs. The gen. se (grund, sond) 517, 504 is due to

the O. E. fem. gen. sg. *sā*. In *heuene* (O. E. *heofenes*) 774 the *s* of the gen. ending has been dropped, perhaps in analogy with the preceding fem. gen. in *e*: *helle* (pine).

Dat. *gode* 116, *felde* 400, *hille* 1, *heuene* 775, *weie* 5; *dai* 63.

Pl. nom. acc. *daies* 127, *dages* 744, *fules* 410, *fugeles* 403, *wulues* 591, *hertes* 349, *fisses* 514, *foxes* 414, *ðewes* 183.

Gen. *heunekes* 799, *wulues* 590, *hertes* 370. These forms may however also be the gen. sg.

Dat. *finnes* 564, *spottes* 736.

Paradigm based upon the above forms.

|       |      |                           |                 |                |                |
|-------|------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Sing. | nom. | <i>fis</i>                | <i>hirde</i>    | <i>come</i>    | <i>wude</i>    |
|       | gen. | <i>fisses</i>             | * <i>hirdes</i> | * <i>comes</i> | * <i>wudes</i> |
|       | dat. | <i>fisse</i> , <i>fis</i> | <i>hirde</i>    | <i>come</i>    | <i>wude</i>    |
|       | acc. | <i>fis</i>                | <i>hirde</i>    | <i>come</i>    | <i>wude</i>    |
| Plur. |      | <i>fisses</i>             | * <i>hirdes</i> | —              | —              |

Note. It is impossible fully to determine the declension of the original *ja*-, *wa*-, *i*-, *u*-stems as only two instances of other cases than the nom. acc. sg. occur. These two instances (*felde* 400, *sees* 523) together with a comparison with other declensions and the fact that the above mentioned vowelstems already in O. E. had partly assumed the declension of the *a*-stems, make it however probable that, in the language of our author, they were inflected like *fis*.

§ 79. Neuters (original a-, ja-, wa-, i-, u-stems).

Terminations of the singular.

The strong neuters that in O. E. had no termination in the nom. acc. sg. are also in the Best. in these cases without any ending.

Those strong neuters that in O. E. in nom. acc. sg. end in e, u take in the Best. e.

The gen. ends in es.

The dat. ends in e, which was often dropped when the nom. acc. had no ending.

Terminations of the plural.

The nom. acc. plur. which in O. E. were without any ending, (subst. with long rootsyllable) or ended in u (subst. with short rootsyllable and some polysyllables), have mostly assumed the inflection of the strong masculines and consequently end in es.

A few neuter vowelstems with long root-syllable, which in O. E. were without any termination in nom. acc. pl., remain unchanged in the Best. These nouns have often a collective sense.

Of the gen. dat. pl. there are no instances. It is however probable that these cases (as the gen. dat. masc.) have also assumed the ending es.

Examples. Sing. nom. acc. þing 317, fir 538, fles 136, tre 632; — heuenriche (O. E. heofonrice) 28.

Note. The ending e in hole (O. E. hol) 471 has been explained from the O. E. pluralform in -u.

That explanation is, however, rather doubtful.

Gen. liues 287, manikines 460, hornes 665.

Pl. nom. acc. limes 57, hornes 325, 346, sipes 527, 568; sep 49, 607, der 740, ger 615, 616, 300.

Paradigm based upon the above forms.

|       |       |         |        |
|-------|-------|---------|--------|
| Sing. | Nom.  | horn    | rice   |
|       | Gen.  | hornes  | *rices |
|       | Dat.  | horn(e) | rice   |
|       | Acc.  | horn    | rice   |
| Plur. | Nom.  | hornes  | *rices |
|       | Gent. | *hornes | *rices |
|       | Dat.  | *hornes | *rices |
|       | Acc.  | hornes  | *rices |

#### § 80. FEMININE VOWELSTEMS.

Terminations of the Sing. Nouns that in O. E. in nom. sg. ended in -u have in our text the ending e.

Nouns that in O. E. were without any termination in nom. sg. have generally in the Best. assumed the ending e of the oblique cases.

The gen. ending is sometimes e (O. E. e) sometimes -es, which is borrowed from the masc. vowelstems.

The dat. acc. end in -e.

Terminations of the Plural. Of the nom. pl. there is no instance. It is however very probable that the nom. in the language of the author of our text had the same ending as the acc., which has assumed the ending of the masc. vowelstems -es.

Of the gen. pl. there is only one instance : sinnes 207, which however also may be the gen. sg.

Of the dat. pl. there is no instance.

Examples: Sing. nom.: same (O. E. scamu) 265, sowle (O. E. sāwol, sāwl) 715, dede (O. E. dēd) 593.

Note 1. ned 181 (O. E. nēad) has not assumed the ending e of the oblique cases.

Note 2. migt (O. E. miht) 323, se (O. E. sē) 520 have no ending in the nom. acc. sg. as in O. E.

Gen.: nese (smel) 3, helle (pine) 774, soule (drink) 206, soule (spouse) 717; sowles fode 118, sinnes (quenching) 207.

Dat. (acc.): wið) migte 718, (bi ðe) rode 597, (on) werlde 120.

Note. The ending has been dropped in: (of) hid 144, (bi ðe) nos 393. The dropping of the ending in nos depends perhaps on the rhyme with gos.

Acc.: soule 231, wile 276, lore 101, dede 97, sigte 107, luue 696, nese 312, nede 115, 367.

Pl. acc.: dedes 389, sinnes 90.

Gen. sinnes may also be the gen. sg.

#### Paradigm.

|       |      |               |
|-------|------|---------------|
| Sing. | Nom. | soule         |
|       | Gen. | soule, soules |
|       | Dat. | soule         |
|       | Acc. | soule         |



|       |      |         |
|-------|------|---------|
| Plur. | Nom. | soules  |
|       | Gen. | soules  |
|       | Dat. | *soules |
|       | Acc. | soules  |

## § 81. S t e m s i n -r.

The following forms occur:

Nom. fader 21, 44, broder 373, broder 659.

## § 82. S t e m s i n -n d.

The only form that occurs is fend 450.

## § 83. M o n o s y l l a b i c c o n s o n a n t - s t e m s :

The following forms occur:

Sing. nom. man 88, 165. Gen. mannes 192.

Dat. (acc.) (wið) man. 427. Acc. man 146. Pl.  
nom. men 588;

Gent. manne 39. Acc. men 184, wimmen 699.

Gent. pl. fet steppes 7.

Dat. (acc.) pl.: (mið hire) teð 421.

Acc. sg. gos 392.

Sing. nom. boc 451, dat. sg. boke 54, 309, (bi)  
nigt 63, 195, (be) nigte 720.

## § 84. W e a k d e c l e n s i o n .

Terminations of the sing. The nom. sg. of the  
masc. fem. n-stems ends in e (O. E. masc. a, fem. e).  
Of the nom. sg. neut. there is no example.

The gen. masc. seems to have assumed the ending of the masc. vowelstems *es* (only one instance).

The gen. sg. fem. ends in *-e*. Of the gen. neut. there is no instance.

The dat. ends in *-e*.

The acc. ends in *e*.

Terminations of the Plural. The nom. masc. seems to have assumed the ending of the masc. vowel-stems *-es*, (only one instance). Of the nom. fem. there is no example. The nom. neut. has kept the old ending *-en*.

Of the gen. dat. acc. there are no examples.

Examples: Sing. nom. masc. *sterre* 766, *name* 613, *bane* 482, *hunte* 34, 636. Nom. fem. *widue* 706, *sunne* 19, *neddre* 144.

Gen. masc. *hundes* 672; gen. fem. *erðe* (*fen*) 766, *kirke* (*dure*) 167, *welle* (*grund*) 74, *birde* (*time*) 141.

Dat. (*bi*) *name* 38, (*to*) *kirke* 93, (*bi ðe*) *sunne*, *mone* 598, *welle* 341.

Acc. *make* 697, *welle* 62.

Pl. Nom. masc. *husebondes* 388. Nom. neut. *egen* 60, 71.

## Adjectives.

### § 85. 1) Strong declension.

The old inflection is almost entirely dissolved. The gen. sg. masc., however, seems to have retained

the old ending -es to judge from the only occurring example oðres 360. After prepositions we have also in two or three examples in the (dat.) ending e a trace of an older inflection. As a rule, the adjectives are inflected in the following manner:

a) The adjectives that in O. E. in nom. sg. masc. were without any termination have no endings in the sg. The plural is formed by the addition of e to the singular.

Note. nom. pl. strong 79 has no ending, which perhaps depends on the rhyme with wrong 78.

b) The adjectives that in O. E. in nom. sg. masc. ended in e or u have in our text in the sg. and plural the ending e.

Note. The ending has been dropped in : (in) swet (water) 320.

c) Polysyllabic adjectives and participles have no endings neither in the sing. nor the plur.

Examples.

a) Sing. nom. old 90, al 88, ded 40, sund 75, mikel 541, litel 163, war 156, 642, ging 214, ful 385, heg 27.

Gen. oðres 360 (only this instance; see above).

After prepositions: wið mikel list 319, wið iuel man 427; to Cristes quicke welle 41, wið his rigte bile 86, in rigte leue 550.

Acc. al 70, long 275, god 448, oðer 358, 372, mikel 382, iuel 449.

Pl. Nom. alle 329, 356, oðre 509, kolde 610, dimme 60, mirke 95.

Of the gen. there are no examples.

Acc. harde 281, gode 785, sille 572. After prepositions: mið inele breides 445, mið teð sarpe 421, of fele wiles 385.

b) Singular:

Nom. wilde 384, derne 34, newe 76, 109, untrewē 77, drie 752, narwe 133.

After prepositions: in softe weder 236.

Plural.

Nom.: trewe 722.

Of the other cases there are no instances.

Paradigm based on the above forms:

|           |      |            |            |
|-----------|------|------------|------------|
| Singular: | Nom. | old        | trewe      |
|           | Gen. | oldes      | *trewes    |
|           | Dat. | old (olde) | trewe      |
|           | Acc. | old        | trewe      |
| Plural.:  | Nom. | olde       | trewe      |
|           | Gen. | *olde      | *trewe     |
|           | Dat. | *olde      | *trewe     |
|           | Acc. | olde       | trewe      |
| Singular: | Nom. | holi       | naked      |
|           | Gen. | *holi(s)   | *naked(es) |
|           | Dat. | holi       | *naked(e)  |
|           | Acc. | holi       | naked      |

|         |      |       |        |
|---------|------|-------|--------|
| Plural: | Nom. | holi  | naked  |
|         | Gen. | *holi | *naked |
|         | Dat. | *holi | *naked |
|         | Acc. | holi  | naked  |

### § 86. 2) Weak declension.

When preceded by the definite article, a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, adjectives and past participles have the weak inflection.

The ending is -e in the singular and plural.

Examples:

Sg. nom. *ðe moste fis* 500, *here mikle reming* 666, *ðis wilde der* 327, *ðe swetteste ðing* 508.

Of the gen. there are no examples.

Acc. *ðe olde lage* 293, *ðe newe lage* 294, *ðe sinfulle* 222.

After prepositions. *wid his rigte bile* 86, *fro de nakede* 219, *on ðe cloðede* 220, *in ðat ðefte meiden* 37.

Pl. nom. *ðe little* 547, *ðe oðre* 356, 363.

Of the gen. and dat. there are no examples.

Acc. *ðe smale* 515, *ðe grete* 516, *ðe mikle* 548.

### § 87. Comparison (Adj. and Adverb).

There are only the following forms:

| Compar.       | Superl.             |
|---------------|---------------------|
| fairere 734   | most (adv.) 625     |
| more 708, 267 | best 802            |
|               | firmest (adv.) 213. |

## § 88. N u m e r a l s.

| Cardinal.      | Ordinal.      |
|----------------|---------------|
| one 351        | ðridde 23, 43 |
| two 307        |               |
| ðre 744        |               |
| sex 66         |               |
| seuene 66      |               |
| ten 127        |               |
| an hundred 369 |               |

## P r o n o u n s.

## § 89. P e r s o n a l P r o n o u n s.

|         | 1st. pers.  |
|---------|---|
| Sing.   | Nom. ic 54, 261, 673, 700: i 53, 704.                                 |
|         | Dat. No instance.   |
|         | Acc. No instance.   |
| Plural. | Nom. we 44, 51, 52.   |
|         | Gen. ur 371.  |
|         | Dat. us 788.  |
|         | Acc. us 46, 50, 228, 27.  |
|         | 2nd pers.   |
| Sing.   | Nom. ðu 191, 204, 208, tu (after a dental or sibilant) 187, 196, 201. |
|         | Dat. (after prepositions) ðe 194, 202, 218.                           |
|         | Acc. ðe 210, 211, 216, 217.   |

|         |      |                   |
|---------|------|-------------------|
| Plural. | Nom. | ge 89, 238.       |
|         | Dat. | gu 673, 700, 758. |
|         | Acc. | No example.       |

## 3rd pers.

|       | Masc.                      |       | Fem.                         |
|-------|----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Sing. | Nom. he 2, 5, 15, 24 etc.  | Sing. | Nom. ge 234, 243, 250 etc.   |
|       | Dat. him 80, 118.          |       | Dat. hire 271, 248, ire 247. |
|       | Acc. him 44, 324, 364 etc. |       | Acc. hire 252, 388, 422.     |

## Plural.

Nom. he 351, 353, 510, 511.

Dat. hem 418.

Acc. hem 417, 420, 581.

Note. Beside the form hem of the acc. pl. we find also is 12, which has coalesced with a preceding we in: wes 786 = we them.

## Neutr.

Sing. Nom. it 43, 121, 181, 265 etc., itt 30.

Dat. No example.

Acc. it 264, 315, 415.

The plural has in the nom. the form it 573, 788.

Of the other cases there are no examples.

Note. The acc. sing. it has coalesced with the pronoun ge in: get 269 (beside ge it 272, 296, 469).

## § 90. Reflexive Pronouns.

The personal pronouns are also used reflexively, for instance rigted him 152, gingið him 152, leneð

him 634, 647, rested hire 241, gingen us 347, he hem sampnen.

Note. As an emphatic complement use is also made of self, selven, for instance himself 81, himselfen 644.

### § 91. Possessive Pronouns.

1st. pers.

Sing. There are no examples.

Plur. ure 29, 40, 227, 279 etc.

2nd. pers.

Sing. ðin 202, tin (after dentals, sibilants) 212, ði 210.

Plur. No examples.

3rd pers.

Singular.

Masc. his 3, 9, 13, 21, 77 etc.

hise 57, 79, 90, 95, 102 etc.

The form hise is regularly used before substantives in the plural.

Fem. hire 253, 421, 386, 387, 389.

Neutr. No examples.

Plural.

here 482, 593, 595, her 679.

### § 92. Demonstratives.

The O. E. neut. demonstrative pronoun þæt ap-



pears in our text as *đat* 74, 285, 495, after a dental or a sibilant as *tat*. It is used not only as a neut. but also as a masc. and fem.

The plural has the form *po*. There is, however, only one example: *po dat.* 741.

Of the O. E. demonstr. pronoun *pes*, *pēos*, *pis* only the nom. sing. neut. *pis* (*dis*) remains and is used also as a masc. and fem. It is declined as follows:

Sing. Nom. *dis* 92, 158, 178, 505, 283 etc.  
           *tis* (after a dental or sibilant) 88,  
           20, 399.  
       Gen. *dis* 414.  
       Acc. *dis* 368, 529.

After prepositions: of *dis* 589, bi *dis* 587.

Of the plural there occurs only one instance: *dis*e acc. plural. 514.

### § 93. Relatives.

*de* (O. E. *pe*) 30, 39, 688, 756.

*đat* has the same form in the singular and plural. It occurs as sing. in 62, 132, 199, 268, 285, 488 etc. as plural in 527, 607.

*Wos* 764 (originally an interrog. pronoun) is used as the gen. of the rel. pron.

### § 94. Interrogatives.

The only form that occurs is *wat* 110, 226.

## § 95. Indefinites.

ilc, ilk 344, 97, eurilc 345, 372, oðer, mani 549,  
non 80 are declined like strong adjectives.

For examples see the declension of strong adj.

man 267

wile — so 5

ogt 760

nogt 147, 216.

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## VERBS.

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### § 96. Present.

#### a) Indicative.

Singular: The 1st pers. ends in *e*: *rede* 54, *mene* 549, *seie* 680.

The 2nd pers. ends in *-est*, *es*. As the *Best.* seems to be written in a Midland dialect, *-est* may perhaps be considered as the regular ending, although it occurs only once: *hauest* 172. Of the ending *-es*, which belongs to the Northern dialect, there are, however, three examples: *forbreðes* 174, *forwurðes* 171, *forgehuēs* 175.

The 3rd pers. generally ends in *-eð*: *cumeð* 56, *drageð* 9, *takeð* 87, *crepeð* 130, *driveð* 13, *flegeð* 64, *wurdeð* 74, *figteð* 158, *singeð* 570, *fareð* 159, *sekeð* 132, *liveð* 30, *filteð* 8, *makeð* 22.

Note 1. In *hatieð* 395 (O. E. *hateð*) an *i* has been inserted before the ending. This *i* seems to be due to analogy with forms, such as *hatien* (O. E. *hætien* pl. subj.) 306 and *luuien* infin. (O. E. *lufian*) 170, which also in O. E. had an *i* between the base and the endings.

Note 2. There occurs one instance of the (Northumbrian) ending *-es*: *belimpes* 362.

Note 3. In forsaket 96 -et, instead of -eð, may depend on an effort to distinguish the ending clearly from the initial ð of the following word. It is, however, more probable that t, instead of ð, in forsaket as well as in quenchet 344 and seit 703 is due to analogy with the numerous forms of the 3rd pers. sing. in t, arisen by the O. E. assimilation d, t + þ > tt, t. For examples, see below.

Note. The e of the ending of the 3rd pers. sing. is often elided in verbs ending in d and t: stant 1, fint 292 (beside findeð 546), fet 301, 439 (beside fedeð 740), hitt 471, fret 422, 485 (beside freteð 497), lat 429 (beside lateð 358), gelt 418, bihalt 644 (beside behaldeð 472), sit 701, bit 269, 296. — The e of the ending has also disappeared in the contracted verbs: seð 65, fleð 148, 218, sloð 431. — Moreover, the elision of the -e of the ending occasionally takes place in verbs ending in a long vowel or a diphthong: lið 17, seit 700 (beside seieð 448).

Plural: The plural ends in -en : dragen 329, brennen 337, hauen 233, fallen 72, folegen 356, eumen 363, 511, helpen 364, speken 592, felen 510, sweren 597, legen 599, luuen 372, haten 388.

Note 1. As may be seen by the last two examples (luuen 372 and haten 388) the i of the O. E. second weak conjugation is on the way of disappearing. It is however kept unchanged in hatien 396; cf. the infin. luuien 170 (O. E. lufian).

Note 2. The *n* of the ending *-en* has been dropped in: *cume* 660 and *(we) haue (ned)* 794. In *haue (ned)* 794 the *n* of the ending may have coalesced with the following *n* in *ned*.

Note 3. If a personal pronoun followed, the *n* of the ending *-en* seems to have been dropped. There occurs, however, only one example: *fele we* 675.

#### b) S u b j u n c t i v e.

##### Singular.

1st pers.: Examples are wanting.

2nd pers.: Examples are wanting.

3rd pers.: ends in *-e*.

Examples: *here* 2, *smake* 4, *dere* 252, *finde* 258, *forwurðe* 270, *waxe* 271.

Note. In contracted verbs the *-e* of the ending is dropped: *se* 146.

##### Plural.

The plural ends in *-en* and, if a pronoun follows, in *-e*: *heren* 51; *luue we* 718, *wende we* 719, *be we* 722, *leue we* 725, *helde we* 232, *seke we* 287.

#### c) I m p e r a t i v e.

##### Singular.

1. The 2nd person imper. sing. of strong verbs has no ending as in O. E. Only the following examples occur: *help* 184, *let* 201, *know* 165.

Note. Strong verbs with the suffix *j* in the present had in O. E., as is well known, the ending *-e* in the 2nd pers. imper. In the Best. this *-e* is dropped to judge from the only occurring example *bid* 194.

2. The 2nd. pers. sing. imper. of weak verbs ends in *-e*. Also those verbs that in O. E. were without any termination have assumed the ending *e*: *deme* (O. E. *dēm*) 186, *feste* (O. E. *fest*) 182, 211, *walke* 189, *newe* 179, *herkne* 630.

Note. The ending has been dropped in: *sei* 200.

#### Plural.

The plural ends in *-eð*: *hereð* 61.

#### d) Infinitive.

The infinitive ends in *-en*: *risen* 627, *bergen* 14, *wurden* 374, *helpen* 683, *cumen* 663, *slepen* 24, *faren* 731, *demen* 729, *wenden* 6, *maken* 155, *luuen* 372, *seien* 501.

Note. As may be seen from the above-mentioned examples (*maken* 155 < O. E. *makian*: *luuen* 372 < O. E. *lufian*), the *i* of the 2nd weak conjugation is on the way of disappearing. It is, however, kept unchanged in *luuien* 170.

#### e) Participle.

The pres. partic. ends in *-ande* (O. N. *-ande*). The following examples occur: *figtande* 59, *gangande* 654, *rennande* 667, *sacande* 660.

§ 97. **P r e t e r i t e.****A. W e a k v e r b s.**

There are two classes of weak verbs. The first class forms the (1st and) 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. in -ede (O. E. *ede*, *ōde*) and p. parte. in -ed, (O. E. *ed*, *ōd*). The second class forms the 3rd pers. sing. pret. ind. in -de, -te (O. E. -de, -te) and past. parte. in d, t.

**a) I n d i c a t i v e.**

Singular: Of the 1st pers. there are no examples.

Of the 2nd pers. there are very few examples: *higtest* 169, *wuldest* 501. In *higtes* 166, 213 the t of the ending has been dropped.

The 3rd pers. ends, as has been mentioned above, in -ede (1st class) or -de, -te (2nd class). Only the following instances occur: *dennede* 36, *likede* 31, *ðolede* 690; *remede* 773; *seide* 261, 454, *ðogte* 455.

Note. In *remede* 773 (O. E. *hrēmde*) an e has been inserted between the base and the ending.

Plural. The 1st class ends in -eden, the 2nd class in (-den), -ten. Only the following examples occur: *suggeden* 682, *sorgeden* 682, *remeden* 684, *migten* 683.

Note. In *remeden* 684 (O. E. *hrēmdon*) an e has been inserted.

## b) S u b j u n c t i v e.

Singular: There are no examples.

Plural: Only two examples occur: wuneden 617, wulde (ge) 89. To judge from the last example the n of the ending was dropped, when a pronoun followed.

## c) P a r t i c i p l e.

The past partic. ends in -ed < O. E. -ed *ōd* (1st class) or -d, -t (2nd class): lered 328, cloðed 150, cri-stened 168, tokned 763, inkindled 16, told 758, seid 573, set 309, idigt 469.

Note. The O. E. prefix *ge-* of the p. partic. is generally dropped. There are however two examples of its being preserved: ikindled 16, idigt 469.

## B. S t r o n g v e r b s.

## a) I n d i c a t i v e.

Singular: 1st person. No examples.

2nd person. No examples.

3rd person. No ending.

Plural: -en.

Examples: 3rd pers. sing.: *ros* 773, *wan* 768, *cam* 687, *stod* 680, *slep* 771, *fel* 674. Plural: *wurðen*, (1st pers.) 338, *weren* 95, 682, *broken* 330.



## b) S u b j u n c t i v e.

Singular: 1st person. No examples.

2nd, 3rd pers. — e.

Plural: — en.

Examples: 2nd pers. sing.: sogē 502, were 168;

3rd pers. were 77, 256, wore 706, come 35, sete 504.

Plural: weren 338.

## P a r t i c i p l e s.

The past partic. ends in -en. There occurs no example of the O. E. prefix ge- being preserved.

Examples: broken 172, bunden 560, fallen 693.

For further examples see "Table of verbs" below.

## § 98. T a b l e o f s t r o n g v e r b s.

## Class I.

| Infin.       | Preterite.  | Past Partic. |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| risen 627    | ros 45, 773 |              |
| swiken 637   |             |              |
| biswiken 515 |             |              |
| biswike 429  |             |              |
| bigripen 516 |             |              |
|              | steg 775    |              |
|              |             | sinen 19     |
|              |             | writen 695   |

## Class II.

| Infin.     | Preterite. | Past Partic. |
|------------|------------|--------------|
| crepen 251 |            |              |
|            | ches 716   |              |
|            |            | forloren 85  |

## Class III.

|             |                  |            |
|-------------|------------------|------------|
| finden 12   |                  |            |
| drinken 138 |                  |            |
|             | wan 768          |            |
| helpen 683  |                  | bunden 560 |
| wurden 374  | wurden 1st pers. |            |
|             | pl. 330.         | dolven 40  |
| bergen 14   |                  |            |

forbroiden 124  
forwurden 125

## Class IV.

| Infin.    | Preterite.         | Partic.       |
|-----------|--------------------|---------------|
| beren 263 | bar 39             |               |
| cumen 663 | cam 687            |               |
|           | kam 43             |               |
|           | broken 3 pers. pl. | broken 172    |
|           |                    | forbroken 124 |

## Class V.

|             |                              |         |
|-------------|------------------------------|---------|
| was 40, 41, | { plur. weren 95, 682        |         |
|             | { subj. were 77, 265         |         |
|             | wore 706                     |         |
| lai 42, 769 |                              |         |
|             | soge 2nd pers. sg. subj. 502 | sen 237 |

## Class VI.

| Infin.      | Preterite. | Past Particip. |
|-------------|------------|----------------|
| faren 731   |            | faren 72       |
|             | sop 456    | sapen 736      |
| stonden 621 | stod 680   |                |

## Class VII.

|                |              |               |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|
| slepen 24, 744 | slep 771     | slepen 576    |
| holden 46      |              |               |
| 3 pers. {      | beholdeð 472 | bilholden 636 |
| sing. {        |              |               |
| pres. {        | bihalt 644   |               |
|                | fel 674      |               |
| imper. let 702 | let 778      |               |
| 3 pers. {      |              |               |
| sing. {        | leteð 135    |               |
| pres. {        |              |               |
| 3 pers. {      | lat 429      |               |
| sing. {        |              |               |
| pres. {        | lateð 358    |               |

## § 99. Preterite-Present Verbs.

Pres. 3rd pers. sing. mai 80, 217, maig 516, plur. mugen 425, 627, subj. 3rd pers. sing. muge 155, 254, Pret. 3rd pers. sing. migte 33, 677 subj. 3rd pers. plur. migten 683.

Pres. 2nd pers. sing. salt 201, 3rd pers. sing. sal 25, plur. sulen 286, 609, Pret. 3rd pers. sing. sulde 149.

Pres. 3rd per. sing. can 94, plur. 3rd pers. cunen 581, subj. 3rd pers. sing. cunne 12, 68, past partic. uncuð 112, 512, 594.

Pres. 3rd pers. sing. dar 783, subj. 2nd pers. sing. dure 187.

Infin witen 33 know.

Pres. 3rd pers. sing. og 350, 371, plur. ogen 293, 370, 786.

Pres. 1st pers. plur. moten 294.

. Pres. 1st pers. sing. wille 53, wille 700, 3rd pers. wille 14.

Plur. wilen 476. Pret. 2nd pers. sing. wuldes 501, 3rd pers. wulde 454, 676. Plur. wulde (ge) 84.

#### § 100. Verbs in -mi.

Infin. don 430, Pres. 3rd pers. sing. doð 180, past. partic. don 798.

Pres. ind. 3rd pers. sing. goð 82, plur. gon 606, subj. plur. pres. gon 52, imper. 2nd pers. sing. go 204, Pret. (under)-gede 691.

Infin. ben 286, 728, pres. ind. 2nd pers. sing. art 177, 3rd pers. sing. is 27, 28 etc. es 247, beð 413, plur. pres. aren 57, 351, 512, ben 49, 369, 573, senden 79, 555, subj. 3rd pers. sing. be 752 plur. 1st. pers. ben 288, pret. 3rd pers. sing. was 40, 41 etc., 2nd pers. were 168, plur. weren 95, 682, subj. 3rd pers. sing. were 77, 265, wore 706.



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